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Abstract:

For more than a century, the story of the "Lone Woman" of San Nicolas Island has captured the interest of scholars and laymen alike. The tale was popularized because of the romanticism of a Robinson Crusoe sort of existence by a woman abandoned (18367-1853) on a tiny island off the California coast. The details of her culture have been carefully sifted out to provide at least some understanding of the Nicoleno by such scholars as Kroeber (1925:633-635), Meighan and Eberhart (1953), and Heizer and Elsasser (1973), the latter researchers bringing together all of the important historic accounts concerning the woman's story.



Recently Discovered Accounts Concerning The "Lone Woman" of San Nicolas Island

TRAVIS HUDSON

FOR more than a century, the story of the "Lone Woman" of San Nicolas Island has captured the interest of scholars and laymen alike. The tale was popularized because of the romanticism of a Robinson Crusoe sort of existence by a woman abandoned (1836?-1853) on a tiny island off the California coast. The details of her culture have been carefully sifted out to provide at least some understanding of the Nicoleño by such scholars as Kroeber (1925:633-635), Meighan and Eberhart (1953), and Heizer and Elsasser (1973), the latter researchers bringing together all of the important historic accounts concerning the woman's story.

With all of this interest it would appear that, aside from locating objects that belonged to the woman and have since possibly been lost in the Vatican Museum (Rome), if indeed they ever arrived there, information pertaining directly to the Lone Woman would be certainly exhausted. But such is not the case. While poring over the ethnographic notes of John P. Harrington pertaining to the Chumash Indians of southern California, it was a surprise to find notes

from Ventureño and Barbareño consultants that pertained to her story (Hudson 1978a, 1978b, 1980). Recently, yet another account was found, this one among Harrington's Ventureño notes from Candelaria Valenzuela, representing an interview Harrington had conducted with Emma Chamberlain Hardacre, probably in March, 1913. The original is on legal-size paper, handwritten, and consists of 12 pages. Lightly edited and reorganized, it appears here for the first time in print.

Mrs. Hardacre was Santa Barbara's local expert on the Lone Woman, having authored a popular account on the subject in 1880 for *Scribners Monthly* (reprinted as Hardacre 1973). Harrington must have read this article with more than passing interest and sought out Mrs. Hardacre, we can assume, for the purposes of collecting whatever additional scraps of information might be available to expand upon the original. The connection may also have resulted in introducing Harrington to Elizabeth Mason, a very talented Santa Barbara artist who was also Mrs. Hardacre's niece (Mason 1950:2). In the years following the Hardacre interview, Harrington and Mason worked together to create the dioramas depicting Indian life now on exhibit at the Southwest Museum (Schroeder 1980) as well as at

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the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

What stands out as particularly important in Harrington's notes on the Hardacre interview is the background information concerning the article itself. The published account provided little in terms of the consultants. The new information in this regard is presented below under the heading "Background to Hardacre's Account". Additional information from Mrs. Hardacre, as well as from other consultants to Harrington, is organized under such headings as circumstances of abandonment, discovery, final weeks, language, death, and material culture. It is hoped that by combining the wide range of new information in this format, a helpful supplement to Heizer and Elsasser's (1973) original accounts will be made available

BACKGROUND TO HARDACRE'S ACCOUNT

Mrs. Hardacre told Harrington that:

Mr. James Calkins, Mr. Henry Chapman Ford, and Dr. Dimmick began to hunt up her [Lone Woman's] history in 1874. The men who had rescued [the woman] were all young sailors [in 1853], and most of them were still around Santa Barbara then [in 1874].

James W. Calkins, as we are informed by Mrs. Hardacre later in the narrative, was a Santa Barbara banker. Dr. Dimmick, she said, was "one of the first conchologists on the coast, a retired physician from Rockford, Illinois". Dr. Dimmick's name is mentioned in Thompson and West's (1973:29) account of the Lone Woman as the one who compiled the notes they used; he died in Santa Barbara in May, 1884 (Anonymous 1887; Storke 1891:532). Henry Chapman Ford (1828-1894) was born in New York and moved to Santa Barbara in 1875; he was a noted artist, particularly for his early sketches

of the California missions (Storke 1891:485-486). But banking, medicine, and art were not the sole interests of these men. They founded the Santa Barbara Society of Natural History in 1876, joining such other notables as the Rev. Stephen Bowers and Lorenzo Yates. The organization's bulletins for March, 1887, and October, 1890, state that at various times Dr. L. Norton Dimmick, Henry F. Chapman, and James W. Calkins served as officers, as well as contributors. Ford wrote articles on plants, geology, and archaeology, while Dimmick wrote on climate. Ford's name also appears on a list of donors, his contributions being mounted birds and artwork, while Calkins' name appears for a major collection of marine and freshwater shells. Their interest in natural history resulted in traveling to the Channel Islands; and apparently some time between 1874 and 1876, they visited San Nicolas Island. Mrs. Hardacre told Harrington:

They [Calkins, Ford, and Dimmick?] went to the island and found brush enclosure and caves—painted [made copies of] all, mapped it.

It is not known whether or not the brush enclosure found by these men is the same as the whale-bone house found by Woodward (Morgan 1979) decades later. The missing maps and paintings would be particularly helpful in this regard. It would seem, however, that the Calkins-Ford-Dimmick expedition would have been based upon first-hand information on its location from interviews with the 1853 rescuers. These would have been George Nidever, Carl Dittman, and a third crewman identified as an Irishman called Colorado. Mrs. Hardacre's Harrington interview will later mention this third man as being married to an Indian woman and the father of a little girl who would come and visit Juana María, the Lone Woman, during her short lifetime in Santa Barbara.

Mrs. Hardacre became involved in the story in 1876. Harrington wrote:

Mrs. Hardacre came here in the early part of 1875. In 1876 they asked Mrs. Hardacre to write it up. Came in the evenings. She was writing for the *Louisville Courier Journal* then. The three gave her the first material in July, 1876, to [for] centennial.

Mrs. Hardacre was here at Santa Barbara only two years then. She went to 1777 [in 1877? to Washington, D.C.?] (after her second visit to Santa Barbara). She interviewed Mr. W. H. Holmes. He drew [Lone] Woman from Hardacre's description—standing with hand over eyes, cliffs behind her, in feather dress. Hayden survey drew Hardacre a map of the islands, showing San Nicolas [Island] and Santa Barbara.

During the time of Mrs. Hardacre's visit to Washington, D.C., William Henry Holmes served as a noted artist for the Bureau of American Ethnology—his distinguished career in archaeology and later as chief of the bureau was just beginning. It is possible that his drawings of the Lone Woman are housed in the U. S. National Anthropological Archives. The unpublished Hardacre account continues:

[Mrs. Hardacre] returned to Santa Barbara in 1877, September, and used at that time to meet the three men [Calkins, Ford, and Dimmick] at old Dr. Dimmick's place at the corner of Victoria and De La Viña [streets] (now house the Yndarts live in). Baptist church has been erected in front yard of Dimmick place. Dimmick was then too weak to go out.

Mrs. Hardacre was in Colorado Springs in 1879, the summer in which the article was published. Had no knowledge that [the] article had been accepted. Picked up *Scribners* [*Scribners Monthly*, Vol. 20, 1880] in a bookstore there. She could have wept. All illustrations were left out and [the] title was changed to "Eighteen Years Alone". J. C. Holland, editor of *Scribners*, wrote Mrs. Hardacre that they heard *Harpers* was sending a man out to write it up, so they rushed it to print.

Regretably, Harrington did not ask Mrs. Hardacre what became of the original manuscript sent to *Scribners*, nor the fate of the associated artwork. We can hope that some of this material will surface in the years to come.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF ABANDONMENT

As Heizer and Elsasser (1973:ii-iii) note, there are two conflicting versions in the primary accounts that describe the circumstances of abandonment: (1) that of Phelps (1973:16), whose source is the logbook of the *Alert*; and (2) that of Nidever (1973:7-8), whose description was based upon a conversation with Sparks, "the exact manner in which she was left" not being remembered. Hardacre's (1973:18-20) published account no doubt had its source with Nidever and is basically the same as what she reported to Harrington in 1913:

It was 1835 that [they] took [the Nicoleño] Indians to San Pedro. It seems that they had brought Indians from the other islands [to the mainland] little by little. It was not always that they could charter a boat. There was a little lumber boat [schooner] called "Better than Nothing" [*Peor es Nada*]. Father Gonzales [no doubt some other priest] got them to take the San Nicolas Indians from that island to San Pedro. The woman jumped overboard just before they left the island. Some said she wanted her baby. Capt. [Williams mentioned in published version] did not care much. Entrance to island was difficult.

Father [Gonzales?] had that woman's fate on his mind. He besought everyone here [Santa Barbara?] who had a boat to go and hunt for that woman. People said he was almost crazy on the subject. Fifteen years he got this man, Charlie Brown [as he was called by old sailors, really Carl Dittman (Hardacre 1973:27)], and gave him \$100.00 [the original states it was \$200 offered in 1850 by Father Gonzales to one Thomas Jeffries (Hardacre 1973:20-21)] if he would

go and make a search of the island and bring the woman, or some news of her, [back]. He went and returned thinking she had died. He had a small fishing boat. He merely looked along the shore—did not go up on the tableland, as he afterwards confessed. The woman saw him when he came. Later a party went over [to San Nicolas] to catch seals.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY

The primary accounts that pertain to the discovery of the "Lone Woman" are those of Nidever (1973:8-14) and Dittman (1973:1-6). They formed the basis for Hardacre's (1973:21-26) account, as well as those by others. In addition, there is another primary account, unfortunately very brief, that comes to us from Harrington's major Ventureño Chumash consultant, Fernando Librado (consultant FL) *Kitsepawit* (Blackburn 1975:18). Much of Librado's ethnographic data have been corroborated in a number of Chumash studies, such as those by Blackburn (1975) on mythology, by Hudson *et al.* (1977) on history and ritual, and by Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978) on plank canoes. Librado received his information on the "Lone Woman" from Melquiaries (or Malquiaries) *Shushtu*, a Ventureño sea otter hunter who accompanied George Nidever to San Nicolas Island in 1853 (Hudson 1978b:151-153; 1979a:149), and from Nolberto *Skit'ima*, a Ventureño shoe- and saddle-maker who was residing in Santa Barbara in 1853 (Hudson 1978a:25, 27-28; 1979a:150). Nidever (1973:11) mentions that his crew included four mission Indians, one of which was the cook; Dittman (1973:2) recorded three Indians in addition to a cook.

Hardacre's unpublished account relating to the discovery of the woman is as follows:

It was in December [fall], 1853, that the woman was rescued. That year they went again [to San Nicolas] and were all ready to

come home, having been there six weeks. On the last moonlight night they went way around rocks of shore where they never had been, and saw footprints which traced up on rocks of cliff. So instead of going the next day, the captain [Nidever] said they must all go and hunt that woman.

The sailors were very grumbling. She had been down to get driftwood [reference to footprints?]. It was on the side out to sea. So the next day they found her.

When Brown first saw her there were these wild dogs all around her. They were a great [illegible] once to her. Brown found her in the brush enclosure. He saw her head moving about in brush watching the men walking down below. It was agreed to put one's hat on a gun and move it up and down three times as a signal. The men got so as to surround her. She started [startled?], but regained her composure proudly and offered them wild onions which she was roasting.

She was not dark, they say. Her hair was light brown. Her hair was knotty and disheveled, and she did not wear a hat. When she was received she was a woman about forty years of age.

Librado told Harrington this account on the discovery:

Captain Nidever and an Indian named Malquiaries [Melquiades] found a woman on San Nicolas Island rolling silver in her hands to make abalorio [JPH/FL: Hudson 1978b:151].

Abalorio is shell bead money; the reference to silver is unclear.

The woman would go to get water at low tide, and this was her drinking water [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978b:152].

Malquiaries spoke to her at Captain Nidever's request. Malquiaries told Fernando that when they encountered the woman, she sang the following song:

tokitoki
yamymna
tokitoki
weleleshkima

yaamymina
weleleshkima
yaamymina
tokitoki

The woman sang these words. After hearing them Malquiaries could sing them, and they later became deeply impressed on Fernando's memory. Once, when Fernando met Aravio, [*Talawiyashwit*, a Cruzeño Chumash (Hudson 1978b:153)] a very aged Indian from [living at] Santa Ines, Fernando recited these words to him, and at once Aravio translated the song for Fernando. The words meant: "I leave contented, because I see the day when I want to get out of this island" [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978b:151-152].

The song is somewhat similar, yet distinct, from one given to Harrington by Fernando before, whereby the person from whom Fernando had learned it was unknown. Probably this version can also be attributed to Malquiaries:

tikitiki
yahamimīna tikitiki (3 times)
tikitiki weleleshkima
nishuyahamimīna
weleleshkima
nishuyahamimīna
tikitiki

Fernando does not understand the words in this San Nicolas island song [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:25].

Fernando's account does not say that Malquiaries was able to communicate with the woman, only that he was asked to do so. Both Nidever (1973:15) and Dittman (1973:6) stated that although various Indian dialects were spoken to her, she was unable to understand them.

In terms of the song itself, it is not

surprising that Malquiaries (and later Fernando) was able to memorize it; California Indians were noted for their ability to memorize the songs of others, even when the language and meaning were unknown to them. In December, 1913, both versions of the above song were recorded by Harrington on wax cylinder recordings, and have since been transferred to magnetic tape. Tegler (1979:27), who undertook the transfer process for his research into Chumash music, noted that this particular song is unique: "rhythmically this song has alternating sections of 6/8 and 9/8 meter and also exhibits 'rise'." With the help of Tegler, and copies of the tapes being made available to present-day Chumash descendants, the *tokitoki* song has been reintroduced among the Santa Ynez group and can be heard today.

The *tokitoki* song was, however, not the only Nicoleño song recalled by Fernando:

When discovered the woman's only clothing consisted of a skirt made of feathers and an apron. Jacob [George] Nidever had [?] his people were otter hunters. They made the woman a dress out of their trousers. It was a month that they stayed on the island before they found the woman. After they found her, she would not eat their food, but she did stay around their camp.

When the men first put on the dress they had prepared for her out of their trousers, she began to sing and dance. She sang this song:

hi(i)hihiyo'oo (2 times)
kachnaualanalna'al (swinging in the
 dance when the
 song was sung)
hihihiyo'oo [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978b:
 152].

Harrington also recorded this song in December, 1913, onto a wax cylinder; Tegler (1979:27) listed this song as possibly in Ventureño Chumash and related to the Chiknekch myth, despite it being recorded together with the *tokitoki* song. Harrington

wrote that "although these words are not understood by Fernando, he has sort of an understanding of what they mean: 'I continue moving, swaying of the dance, I continue'" (JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:26). Tegler (1979:27) recorded the meaning as "from here I go over to my place; I take steps and he who takes steps moves".

As with the *tokitoki* song, there is also another version of the text in the Harrington notes:

ihu'ihiyuhu (2 times)

hachunuwa la na' na'a'

ihu'ihiyuhu [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:26].

The Hardacre unpublished account continues:

She had kept a record of the time she was on the island. Had a stick with whole number of days on the island indicated on it by notches. On walls of cave she had made record of every ship she had seen. She would motion for ships to come and take her, but when they came she was afraid and would hide.

She dried meat and stuck them in crevices of rocks by the shore high up where the wild dogs or other animals could not get it. The wild dogs had eaten her baby.

[They wanted] to sew her a skirt out of bedticking. She was amused. She showed them how she sewed it. Also put a coat on her.

CIRCUMSTANCES ON FINAL WEEKS

The primary accounts that pertain to the "Lone Woman's" short lifetime on the mainland are those of Nidever (1973:14-15) and Dittman (1973:6-7). Additional information from the Harrington notes is also available. Fernando Librado reported upon what he had heard from Malquiaries, as well as from Nolberto (Nolberto) *Skit'ima*, a Fernandeno man who lived in Santa Barbara, working as a shoe- and saddle-maker (JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:

27-28). Luisa Ygnacio, Harrington's Barbareño Chumash consultant (Blackburn 1975:19), also provided information, as did Luis Antonio María Ortega, a Santa Barbara Californio considerably knowledgeable on the Chumash. Ortega recalled that:

The woman was taken to the house of Jacob Nidever's folks in Santa Barbara, an adobe situated close to where the Southern Pacific Freight Station now stands [JPH/LAM (Luis Antonio María Ortega):Hudson 1978b:152].

The site was not far from Burton Mound, near the present intersection of Chapala and Yanonali streets (Rogers 1929:100).

The unpublished Hardacre account adds this information:

Next day after they reached Santa Barbara, a sea captain [Trussell], here at Santa Barbara [and] whose ship happened to be here, made an offer to Nidever to exhibit her, but Nidever declined.

She [the Lone Woman] was very fond of Mrs. Nidever. Nidever's wife was Spanish—could not speak a word of English. (Mrs. Hardacre does not know whether Mr. Nidever was Catholic.) Mrs. Nidever was her [the woman's] godmother.

A Spanish woman recently told Mrs. Hardacre [that] she was a common law child of a man here who had a hook for an arm. Forgets names. He was once on that voyage [probably the Irishman known as "Colorado" (cf. Nidever 1973:11)]. When first railroad train came to Santa Barbara, he was drunk and lost his arm. Lived on Montecito Street near Bath [Street]. A Mrs. Greenwell told Mrs. Hardacre that the woman was the one-armed man's daughter by an Indian woman.

The little Indian girl [the man's daughter] would reach through railing [of porch at Nidever's house] and put her arms about woman's feet on such occasions and pity woman. Woman's feet were small, firm, beautiful, high insteped.

The Indian woman used to sit on back porch

of Nidever's house. People would bring presents to house. They gave her fruits. When people were gone would give the things to children.

According to Harrington's consultants, some of these visitors were Chumash:

If they had let the woman stay with the Indians here, she would have been all right. But they kept her with Qorqe (George Nidever). Martina and Pilar came from Ventura one time and got some clams and maybe some other things on the road, and when they passed by here, in Santa Barbara, they visited the woman and gave her the clams. The woman was greatly pleased. Martina and Pilar had just made a little trip to Ventura. Sa. [consultant Luisa Ygnacio, also SA] thinks they had seen the woman before that time [JPH/SA:Hudson 1980:110].

The Nidever account (1973:15) mentions that the woman often visited town. Conceivably during one of these visits she met Malquiare, who was noted earlier as being one of the Indians who had discovered her, and Hilario Valenzuela, an unidentified man who may have been related to José Valenzuela, husband of Candelaria, one of Harrington's Ventureño consultants (Hudson 1978a:26; 1979a:144, 157):

The Indian woman told Malquiare that she was going to her home and would come back, and they waited, and she came back. Hilario Valenzuela, "the Yaqui", got some trinkets from the woman which he took with him. Fernando never knew what Hilario did with them [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:25].

CIRCUMSTANCES OF LANGUAGE

Hardacre's unpublished account provides this information concerning the "Lone Woman's" language:

The woman used to come out all alone to railing on back porch and put out her arms toward the sea and talk in her language. She

talked incessantly in her language, but no one could understand but a few words. Mrs. Hardacre heard there were only four words in the vocabulary which could be understood. She would say a word and gesture at a man, another and indicate the sky. She thinks someone wrote them down. People connected with the woman were not much interested and wanted merely the story. Cared little for words, or that which would interest me [meaning, Harrington].

The published Hardacre (1973:26) account preserved four poorly spelled words in the language of the "Lone Woman". These were examined by Kroeber (1907:153 and note 3) and determined to be Shoshonean, but it could not be stated whether the language was Gabrielino, Luiseño, or different from these. Kroeber added that it was unlikely that her language was understood by any other Indians since she was taken to Santa Barbara, which is located in the territory of non-Shoshonean speaking Chumash Indians, and that there is no evidence that anyone conversant with a Shoshonean language ever interviewed her. The lack of sufficient data to determine the affiliation of Nicoleño speech to any of the adjacent mainland Shoshonean (Cupan languages in the Takic family) groups still remains (Bean and Smith 1978:538).

Harrington was particularly interested in language, and he made it a special point to collect data on the languages spoken along the mainland as well as Channel Islands. Aside from the Nicoleño song texts given earlier, which await future linguistic analysis to determine whether or not they are truly identified correctly, his consultants provided these details on the languages of the southern California Channel Islands:

Martín Violín's father was a Santa Catalina Island Indian. He and his brother, both very old, told Martín about the Indians on the Islands, and Martín in turn later passed it on

to Fernando. Martín told Fernando that the Fernandinos called Santa Barbara Island *Tchunash*, and that the Gabrielinos also called it by this name. It means "a notice", as for example the blow of a trumpet [in Chumash *Tchunash* means "whistle" (Hudson *et al.* 1977)]. The Indians on this island [Santa Barbara] were Fernandinos.

San Clemente Island, according to Martín Violín's father and uncle, was inhabited by a mixture of Gabrielinos and Fernandinos.

The people of San Nicolas Island, an old man said (Martín Violín or his relatives?), came originally from Santa Catalina Island. These people spoke the language of the Gabrielinos [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:27].

One of Harrington's Gabrielino consultants, José de los Santos Juncos, from the mainland, stated that the people of San Gabriel could not be understood by those of Catalina Island (Hudson 1979b:361). It would seem, therefore, that perhaps "Catalineño" was a separate Cupan language, perhaps closely related to mainland Gabrielino. If this is the case, then perhaps Nicoleño was also a separate Cupan language, or as settlers were originally from Santa Catalina Island, perhaps a dialect of "Catalineño".

Both Nidever (1973:15) and Dittman (1973:6) reported that the priests sent for various mission Indians to attempt to communicate with the "Lone Woman", but as far as they knew no one was able to. Harrington's consultants provided these details:

They had the last woman of San Nicolas Island here in Santa Barbara. Sa. did not go to see her, but many people did. Martina went to see her, and either Martina or others said she talked like a Fernandino. So they got Pilar to come and try to talk with her. Pilar talked good Barbareño Chumash, but she never forgot her native tongue and talked it when the Fernandinos came here to Santa Barbara. Pilar tried to talk with the woman in Fernandino, but she said she could not understand [JPH/SA:Hudson 1980:110].

Martina was a Cruzeño Chumash woman who was brought to the mainland when still a child. She was a niece of Cecilia, the wife of *Kamuliyatset*, and lived for a time in Ventura (Hudson 1979a:149). Pilar was for a time married to Justo of Ventura, a distant relative of *Kamuliyatset*; she is buried at Mission Santa Barbara cemetery (Hudson 1980:111).

The above suggests that the Lone Woman could not understand Fernandino, but according to Fernando Librado she could:

Nolverto was a Fernandino who lived in Santa Barbara He was the only one who could converse with the woman of San Nicolas Island. He conversed with her freely. The Cruzeño Chumash tried, but they could not make her understand [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:27-28].

Since we can guess that other Fernandino speakers, besides Pilar, must have attempted to communicate with her, we must conclude that either Nolverto was speaking some other Cupan language, or that Fernando Librado is in error. The only other reference made by him to someone able to understand her language is that of Aravio (Arabio) *Talawiyashwit*, the Cruzeño who translated the *tokitoki* song. Perhaps he was familiar with the language from his involvement with the 'antap cult, an organization that brought together Chumash, Fernandino, and Gabrielino captains (Hudson and Blackburn 1978).

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEATH

The unpublished Hardacre account relates the following:

Living in house, food, excitement, and disappointment began to tell on her. Gradually faded away. At last Mrs. Nidever got her seal meat and took it to her. She patted Mrs. Nidever's hand. Could not eat it.

One day she fell from her chair. Sank into unconsciousness. Nidevers sent for priest. He came and buried her. It was said that she was buried at Nidever's lot in the old Mission burying ground. Took her body in wagon covered with flowers. The old Mission burying ground is the one at the mission.

Harrington made this note to himself:

Get access to mission diary when Father Gonzales was at head of mission. Mrs. Hardacre can remember Father Gonzales—wore a turban. Was so very old that he had to be carried around. You would think he must have made a record about the woman in some way. He died soon after Mrs. Hardacre came here.

Bowers (1892) reported that he had secured a copy of a statement by Nidever that had been preserved by the priests in the archives of Mission Santa Barbara. This document was apparently written in Spanish, since Bowers noted that a translation by a competent Spanish scholar was necessary. Heizer and Elsasser (1973:iv) note that no such document has come to light. I rather suspect that Bowers' reference is actually to the entry made by Fr. Gonzales Rubio in the Book of Burials for Mission Santa Barbara (cf. Heizer and Elsasser 1973:42-43).

In regard to this record, one of Harrington's consultants added:

Fernando thinks that the Indian woman of San Nicolas Island was the last one baptized [JPH/FL:Hudson 1978a:26].

CIRCUMSTANCES OF MATERIAL CULTURE

The primary accounts that relate to material culture are those of Nidever (1973) and Dittman (1973), which, along with other sources of information, were given an excellent summary by Meighan and Eberhart (1953). To their work must also be added that of Heizer (1960), which pertained to a

twined basketry waterbottle made by the Lone Woman, Juana María, and was preserved in the California Academy of Sciences and later photographed there by C. Hart Merriam. This object, along with a stone mortar which also belonged to Juana María were destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. A feathered dress or robe, said to have been made from cormorant, was reportedly sent by Father Gonzales to the Vatican Museum (Heizer and Elsasser 1973:v); to date, our efforts to locate it have failed.

Harrington's consultants, including the unpublished account from Mrs. Hardacre, provide additional information on Nicoleño material culture, arranged by items.

Feathered Dress

Nothing belonging to the woman found its way to the Smithsonian. The things belonging to the woman were, many of them, sent to the Vatican in Rome. Priests sent it there. Say it can be seen today, people say. The dress was of shag [?], not duck, skins. Skins neatly joined. Beautiful piece of work. Kept the dress, etc., way up on something, so it would not be destroyed. Dress had holes for arms. Reached only to her knees. Appeared not to be finished [JPH/Mrs. Hardacre].

They said that the woman had an apron of fiber on underneath her duckskin cloak. The dress which she wore was of shag, not duckskins. Feathers were all around the hem. They all faced the same way. The skins were neatly joined. They said it was a beautiful piece of work. The dress had holes for the arms. It reached almost to her knees. The one she wore appeared not to be finished [JPH/Mr. and Mrs. Del Valle: Hudson 1980:111].

Mr. and Mrs. Del Valle were "old Santa Barbara residents" (Hudson 1980:111).

Feathered Cape

Sa. also [besides, fishhook, see below] had at the ranch two feather capes belonging to the last woman of San Nicolas which Sa.'s spouse brought at the same time he brought

the fishhook. These were small (not big) and were made by sewing together seagull skins with [the] feathers still on, Sa. thinks. The feathers [were] on [the] outside [of the capes]. Used them [by wearing them] thrown over [the] shoulders. When Sa.'s spouse died, Sa. threw the capes and hook away [JPH/SA: Hudson 1980: 109-110].

In 1853, when Juana María was brought to Santa Barbara, Luisa Ygnacio would have been about 23 years old. She married Policarpio, also Chumash, in 1851 (Blackburn 1975:19). According to other Harrington notes, Policarpio was a fisherman residing in an Indian community of fishermen at Goleta Estero, just west of Santa Barbara. His father was José Sudón *Kamuliyatset*, the Cruzeño mentioned earlier who was related by marriage to Martina and to Pilar. *Kamuliyatset* built plank canoes and took part in the Chumash Revolt of 1824 (Hudson 1976). The word "brought" in the above narrative would suggest that Policarpio, like Malquiases, was one of the Indian crew members with Nidever on the voyage that brought the woman off the island. Certainly a resident fisherman of Santa Barbara at the time, and perhaps an experienced sea otter hunter, Policarpio would have been ideal for the crew. He died sometime prior to 1856 (Blackburn 1975:19).

Fishhook

Sa. has never seen a shell fishhook, except the one that the last woman of San Nicolas had. It was a big shell fishhook, and [the] fishline [with it] was as thick as a lead pencil. Sa.'s spouse brought it. Sa. had it at Sa.'s home on the ranch, but after a while it got thrown away [JPH/SA:Hudson 1980:109].

Necklace

She had a necklace. Mr. J. W. Calkins, a Chicago man who was president of First National Bank here, now has her necklace [Fig. 1]. Keystone [keyhole] limpets, shell cut round; perforated shells size of a quarter dollar. They laid flat. The lacing material

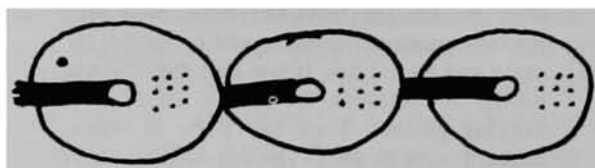


Fig. 1. Sketch made by John P. Harrington, based on information from Emma Hardacre, of a limpet shell necklace belonging to Juana María and later owned by James Calkins. Not to scale; see text for description.

was sinew. Calkins had repaired it somewhat with buckskin. Merely a round chain—no broach or ornament on breast.

Mr. Calkins died recently at Los Angeles. Calkins has a son named Burt Calkins, a real estate man of Los Angeles. Mrs. Lily Calkins Parsons, Calkins' daughter, is living in Los Angeles, and Calkins' widow—Mrs. James C. Calkins—is still living. Can find out from one of the three where the necklace is [JPH/Mrs. Hardacre].

Sandal

The Indians made blankets, sometimes by using strips of grass woven together. As late as _____ [they still made them?]; Fernando still _____ of this stuff and the sandal from the San Nicolas woman [JPH/FL: Hudson 1978b:152].

The blanks are Harrington's. What is meant by Fernando Librado in reference to the woman's sandals is unclear. The meaning may have been that the woman's sandals were made also from strips of grass woven together. A sandal, collected by Lorenzo Yates and said to have been found in a cave on Anacapa Island, is in the collections of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

Bone Knife

The San Nicolas Island woman had a bone knife. It was shaped as shown [Fig. 2]. Fernando does not know what kind of bone the knife was made of. She used it for her defense, and not to cut things with [JPH/FL: Hudson 1978a: 25].

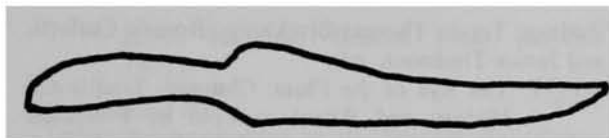


Fig. 2. Sketch made by John P. Harrington, based on information from Fernando Librado, of a bone knife belonging to Juana Marfa (Hudson 1978a:25). Not to scale; see text for description.

It is questionable whether the knife was actually intended as a weapon, unless the woman used it to protect herself from attacks by wild dogs on the island. The Dittman (1973:6) account mentions that the woman did have bone needles and knives.

Bone Awl

While examining the Terry Collection of objects from coastal and offshore southern California, housed in the American Museum of Natural History (Nelson 1936), Thomas Blackburn and I came across a bone awl with a greasy, non-weathered texture. The specimen (T-14624) measured 14.6 cm. in length and was acquired by Terry from George Nidever; the catalog further states that the object came from San Nicolas Island. Given the condition of the awl and its San Nicolas Island and George Nidever associations, we suspect that it may have belonged to Juana María (Fig. 3).

Miscellaneous Objects

According to Fernando Librado, the Lone Woman gave "trinkets" to Malquiaries and to Hilario Valenzuela (JPH/FL: Hudson 1978a:

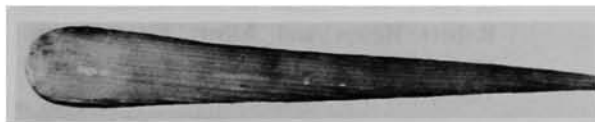


Fig. 3. Bone awl (T-14624), which once belonged to George Nidever, from San Nicolas Island. Length: 14.6 cm. Photograph by Travis Hudson, courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

25); what these objects were (bone knife, sandal?) we are not told, nor are we told what became of them.

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